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(Gilder)  
May 9, 1988  
8:30 a.m.

TONY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY  
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy, ~~with other engagements and couldn't make it.~~

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked if I would carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and good will, and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]

fre

In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

Believe me, it's  
this new America,

I know you're one of my seniors  
- 2 - students.

X  
↓

know each other well. [We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace and building a blue-jeans factory in Moscow. Seriously.]

Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and its emblem is the tiny silicon chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers. That chip is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves.

Believe me, it's this new America

and  
these  
I like  
that.

Excellent

Good!

There's a problem with fully it's been heard since I've heard some people about tired of it

They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a ~~Russian Limousine~~ <sup>a 2.1</sup> would now cost less than \$3, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin. *change to rubber*

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

X

all good

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age <sup>where</sup> of thoughts, <sup>come</sup> before things, <sup>increasingly it is a age</sup> of mind over matter. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of Genesis <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Gospel of John <sup>that</sup> that in the beginning was the word, the idea, from which issued forth the material abundance of creation.

Yes!  
Great

There's a <sup>Russians say</sup> ~~joke~~ about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

~~We cannot pay for the key. And He~~  
The key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov ~~held~~ lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological

~~For some~~

revolution. At any given moment in the United States ~~economy~~<sup>economic</sup> there are a thousand experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

Grant to  
make  
them  
see  
and this  
is appreciate  
for (U.S.)

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way, <sup>yes, it's what they learned,</sup> ~~yes, from failing.~~

could any Government bureaucracy, no matter how big, ever <sup>to</sup> substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing <sup>enterprise 24 hrs a day;</sup> his project. Could any bureaucracy ever substitute for the heart and soul the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?

That's why it's so hard to  
do

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. <sup>No, it won't be</sup> You have <sup>to be</sup> ~~to build wings~~ <sup>build</sup> If you want to take flight, you must ~~build~~ wings.

*Handwritten scribbles and notes:*  
No, it won't be  
to be  
build  
wings  
You must  
have  
wings

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow (has) always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is an ~~old~~ folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing. (D)

*Perfect*

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where half the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom.

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of

the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other ~~many~~ parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of local stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, <sup>report on</sup> ~~cover~~ the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, <sup>to take just an example --</sup> ~~(and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses, marrying each other and raising families.~~

<sup>attending church together,</sup>  
businesses, marrying each other and raising families.

1



Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final deciders of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable (~~inalienable?~~) rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to upset the established order. The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. The right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities -- including Russian, Azerbaijan, Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian: from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, all living in harmony,

*question  
and  
with  
change  
established  
ways  
things*

*It's the continuing revolution of the market  
free market  
revolution*

*In some ways, freedom is  
I wonder if you have thought about how close we are to you  
You see people come to live  
Armenian*

*Geely - please write  
copy to  
plans*

because each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. [Quote from Washington's farewell address]

*put this in v.1.*

*excellent*

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But in fact, who <sup>after all</sup> needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. <sup>let me cite</sup> Perhaps one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom <sup>it</sup> comes not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries

*It's this about going to the... you know*

*greatest of the heart and soul of our nation*

*-- not because I'm afraid to go on about my own country but because I understand so well why true matters of yours.*

wonderful

raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly at <sup>to</sup> the ~~first~~ signs of change, ~~the first~~ steps toward <sup>greater</sup> freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that <sup>gully</sup> freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history. <sup>changes / takes place</sup>

We watch and we hope, as some ~~criticism~~ begins to appear in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad, and there is discussion of abandoning article      and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

wonderful

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to <sup>look for ways</sup> cut loose the rope, to make ~~one~~ irreversible change <sup>And we have talking together about one</sup> to ~~tear down that~~ sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

?

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school ~~students~~ <sup>students</sup> and undergraduates, a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [in Russian: <sup>(Russian phrase)</sup> ~~Better to see something once than to hear about it a~~

~~hundred times~~, and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: ~~[And]~~ <sup>?</sup> The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just    days ago, <sup>we saw how he went in</sup> ~~Soviet troops began~~ <sup>afghanistan got that give</sup> ~~their withdrawal from Afghanistan, giving us hope that soon the~~ fighting may end and the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

very good

wonderful!

seek always to make friends of  
- 12 -  
old enemies.  
seek to

America has a way of making friends of its erstwhile enemies: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those ~~two~~ nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom *and expansion*

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the ~~first~~ breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break ~~out~~ *free*.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bill pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this April, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

This is  
a speech of great  
power.

(Gilder)  
May 9, 1988  
8:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY  
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy ~~with other engagements and couldn't make it.~~

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In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve

the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and such. *Now I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when were going to get around to*  
and building a blue-jeans factory in Moscow. [Seriously,]

Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

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It's <sup>easy to underestimate, because its not accompanied by banners or fanfare.</sup> been called a technological, or information, <sup>Its</sup> revolution, and <sup>as</sup> its emblem <sup>one might take</sup> is the tiny silicon chip, ~~the basic~~

The basic component of today's new-age computers, That chip is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers.

Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves.



They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a <sup>Zil</sup> (~~Russian Limousine~~) would now cost less than <sup>2 Rubles</sup> \$3, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

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Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

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<sup>Russian story</sup> There's a ~~joke~~ about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

<sup>We cannot forget the key. And</sup> The key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov ~~held~~ lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

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revolution. At any given moment in the United States ~~economy~~ there are a thousand <sup>economic</sup> experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

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Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. ~~You have~~

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The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow ~~has~~ always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is an ~~old~~ folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where half the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. *How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, how many — and — and — will the new*

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of

*China contributes to the 21st century?*

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But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, <sup>to take just an example,</sup> and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses, <sup>their children attending Sunday school together, growing up in the same schools</sup> marrying, each other and raising families

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Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final <sup>arbiters</sup> ~~deciders~~ of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable (~~inalienable?~~) rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even, than this: Freedom is the right to <sup>question, and change, the established way of doing things.</sup> ~~upset the established order.~~ It is the continuing revolution of <sup>the marketplace</sup> The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. <sup>It is</sup> The right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities, -- <sup>Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship.</sup> including Russian, Azerbaidjan, <sup>Armenians</sup> Ukranian, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian: <sup>They</sup> from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, <sup>to</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>e</sup> living in harmony, <sup>In America you will find</sup>

*Seeking a place where each*  
~~because each~~ is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. [Quote from Washington's farewell address]

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But ~~in fact~~ <sup>after all,</sup> who needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. <sup>Let me cite</sup> ~~Perhaps~~ one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom <sup>if</sup> comes not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries

*I hope you know I go on about here ~~just~~ simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land.*

raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly <sup>to</sup> at the first signs of change, ~~the first steps~~ toward <sup>greater</sup> freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that <sup>such</sup> freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, as <sup>changes take place</sup> ~~some criticism begins to appear~~ in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad, and there is discussion of abandoning article \_\_\_ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to <sup>look for ways</sup> ~~cut loose the rope~~, to make ~~one~~ irreversible change, <sup>And we have been talking together about one</sup> ~~to tear down that~~ sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school ~~(students)~~ <sup>students</sup> and undergraduates <sup>a</sup> year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: ~~in~~   
 [Russian <sup>phrase</sup> ~~Better to see something once than to hear about it a~~



~~hundred times~~, and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: ~~and~~ <sup>9</sup> (The) I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just    days ago, <sup>we saw events in</sup> ~~Soviet~~ troops began ~~their withdrawal from~~ Afghanistan, <sup>that give</sup> giving us hope that soon the fighting may end and the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

America<sup>n's</sup> seeks always to make friends of old antagonists?  
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~~enemies~~: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those ~~two~~<sup>9</sup> nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom,<sup>and expansion,</sup>

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break ~~out~~<sup>free</sup>.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the <sup>bell</sup> ~~bill~~ pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this April, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

(Gilder)  
May 9, 1988  
8:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY  
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy with other engagements and couldn't make it.

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked if I would carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and good will, and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]

In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. [We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and building a blue-jeans factory in Moscow. Seriously.]

Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and its emblem is the tiny silicon chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers. That chip is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves.

They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a [Russian Limousine] would now cost less than \$3, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

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Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age of thoughts before things, of mind over matter. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of Genesis (the Gospel of John), that in the beginning was the word, the idea, from which issued forth the material abundance of creation.

There's a joke about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

The key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov held(?) lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological

revolution. At any given moment in the United States economy there are a thousand experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way.

Could any Government bureaucracy, no matter how big, ever substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his project. Could any bureaucracy ever substitute for the heart and soul the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?



Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. You have to build wings if you want to take flight.

[The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow (has) always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is an old folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."]

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where half the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom.

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of

the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other many(?) parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of locals stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, cover the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses, marrying each other and raising families.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final deciders of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable (inalienable?) rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to upset the established order. The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. The right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

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because each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. [Quote from Washington's farewell address]

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But in fact, who needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. Perhaps one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom comes not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries

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I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bill pouring forth marvellous sound."

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Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].



(Gilder/ARD)  
May 9, 1988  
2:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY  
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.

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In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and such. Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.

Seriously, our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

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There's a Russian story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

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learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government bureaucracies, no matter how big, ever to substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his scheme 24 hours-a-day; to substitute for the heart and soul the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change

blowing over mainland China, where half the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, how many \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ will the new China contribute to the 21st century?

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of local stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses, their children attending Sunday school together, growing up in the same schools, marrying each other and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. The right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts and watch it catch



fire among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. [Quote from Washington's farewell address]

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. Let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom; it comes not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that such freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, as changes take place in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad, and there is discussion of abandoning article \_\_ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing

these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make irreversible change (?). And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school and undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just \_\_ days ago, we saw events in Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing,

exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and expansion.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this April, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].